2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

KIN BEHAVIOR

The Group

571 The relationships of the ancient Papago, economic and social,
602 were almost all within the kinship circle. "We love our relatives." "We would do anything for our relatives." "A purified scalp works for you like a relative." "We like to go to feasts *to see our relatives.*" [576 783] Address by the kinship term was the regular greeting, the regular form of applause and the final rite for receiving a neophyte back to daily life after purification. White residents, critical of Papago self-government remark: "A Papago elected to office will consider no one but his relatives."

596 Anciently, the only standardized relationships were within the
609 extended family. People outside it should not be chosen as friends because they could not be relied on. Any exchange of gifts made with them should be in the nature of a trade, with full payment immediately and no credit. Even though near neighbors, they remained in an outer sphere unless they were judged desirable connections in a marriage alliance. Then they were investigated, approached and finally drawn within the active circle of kin, to have their share in companionship, service and gift exchange.
602 Within this kin circle, there were no rigid rules. Papago had no avoidances and no joking relationships. The marriage regulations were tempered with economic convenience. The particular group of kin to whom one owed constant duty was not the nearest in blood but the nearest geographically.

361 This pragmatic use of a kinship formula was in agreement with
602 the Papago mode of life. Villages were scattered over an immense desert country where travel was difficult, because of the absence of drinking water and a relative removed to another village became almost inaccessible. But relatives close at hand must be a constant reliance. They were the people called on for cooperative labor in house building, ditch digging, planting, harvesting, spinning, arrow making. A family's actual existence might depend on cordial relations with them. "We would do anything for our relatives" had the connotation "And our relatives would do anything for us." The cordial relations were an economic investment

602 Such an investment was rarely made in non-relatives, since they could not be trusted to repay, having their own more intimate obligations. But a relative valued his kin status and would pay,

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either in goods or services, now or later. So one turned to any relative at hand. The Melanesian, walking across an island to carry a ceremonial gift to his sister, would be incomprehensible to a Papago. In the practical scheme of the Desert People, a sister received gifts when she was present, none when she was absent.

The geographic grouping of relatives depended on land. The desert country contained innumerable small patches, near the mouths of washes, where flood agriculture was possible. Each family must have such a patch where it could plant in the summer, migrating in the winter to the mountain springs. But the patches within walking distance of any village finally became exhausted and then one of the younger men would decide to move. It was unthinkable that he should go alone to his new home, both because of the fear of enemies and because neighborly help was a constant necessity. So he looked for others who needed land and, of course, he looked among his relatives. The records show no examples of unrelated people joining in such a move. But, given the passport of relationship, circumstances might bring together kin of almost any degree. The five new settlements recorded, show the following relatives each with his immediate family.

Appendix I. 3 Ego
Ego's full sister and two half sisters, all married to the same man.
Two other full sisters.
Ego's mother

I. 4 Ego
Two nephews
Three classificatory paternal uncles
Five cousins of the uncles, kinship to Ego not known

I. 5 Ego
Mother
Four brothers
Dead wife's mother's brother
Dead wife's older brother's son

I. 7 Ego
Brother
Widowed sister

I. 8 Ego
Two brothers
Three sisters

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621 (Group I. 5, contained a nephew of Ego's dead wife, who had moved because he needed more land. But having joined, for economic purposes, with a group of his affinals, he proceeded to have all his intimate relations with them and, even in winter, when he moved back near his blood kin, his relations were with the new group, not with the old. It was propinquity which determined intimacy.)

An old village was larger and contained more unrelated families but it was generally segemented into groups of kin who continued to build houses near each other and to unite for work sharing, almost as though they were a separate village. The selection of these groups was as dependent on economic chance as that of a new village for, though usually close kin kept together, some of them might, for reasons of land or housing convenience, become attached to a group of more distant relatives. Then they would throw in their lot with these new neighbor-kin and have their closest relationships with them rather than with the old group.

Kin groups recorded for old villages are as follows:

Appendix I. 1 Ego
Three brothers
One sister
(A group of paternal relatives lived elsewhere in the village)

I. 2 Ego
"Near sibling" i.e. first cousin, side of house unknown
Father's younger sister
Father's mother' daughter's son to Ego's wife
Father's father's brother's son to Ego's wife
Two brother's of Ego's wife
Two father's father's brother's sons' daughters to Ego's son's wife
(In another part of the village lived relatives who were actually closer to Ego, i. e. two daughter's of Ego's younger brother with other relatives of his wife.)

I. 6 Ego
Younger brother
Younger sister
Younger sister's daughter

602 [594] 241 476 Each biological family in a group worked its land in common, (at least until the death of the father) but on special occasions, such as planting and harvesting, they called in the neighbor kin and

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were called by them in turn. Every one who worked received a share of the harvest commensurate, not with his work but with what the owner could spare. The more an owner gave, the higher his repute and the greater his assurance of getting service in his turn. For other activities, such as house building, the workers received only their meals but again they had the assurance of future help.

Work sharing may be considered the basis of the whole arrangement but the group having been formed for this purpose, was kept in running order by constant exhibitions of goodwill. These took the practical form of gifts and gifts of the one commodity which the Papago ever possessed in excess of their need: food.

When a hunter brought home a deer, he went to each main house and presented a portion proportionate to the size of the family there. If there were hunters in that house, his family would soon receive a similar gift: if not it would be any other food they could afford. But with such relatives, there was a distinct obligation not to cease giving even though there should be no return. The investment was a long term affair to be realized on in the future if not the present.

The women treated each other similarly. Whenever a special dish was cooked in one house, children would be sent around to carry portions of it to all the others. Some groups went so far that they interchanged such food gifts every day at the evening meal, the only heavy one. (App. I, 3 C and D. I. 8. C. D and E) "So you were never hungry. Even if you didn't cook one day, a dish would be sure to come in from some of the relatives." As the groups grew larger, not every house could be so treated. (I, 8, A & B). Then a woman would give regularly only to her husband's siblings (I. 3. A. 2; I. 7) with, perhaps, some old people who needed help. Or there might be family cliques and favoritism. (I. 3; I. 9). One woman, who happened to have both brothers and sisters nearby, "always gave to her brothers for she thought the sisters could cook for themselves." But even if certain families were not often included, a gift must be sent to them now and then to keep up good feeling. (I. 2. A; I. 4. A; I. 5. A).

The geographic group had ceremonial obligations as well as economic ones. Every Papago youth was expected to become a "ripe man" through the performance of certain ceremonial acts which conferred a blessing but also subjected him to supernatural dangers. In both danger and blessing the kin were thought to share and therefore, while the youth fasted and bathed to purify himself, the kin abstained from salt and bathed also. When I inquired what

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621 783 kin shared the hero's lot in this way, I was given an incredible list extending, in some cases, to the above mentioned five removes — and on both the man's side and his wife's. Such wholesale purification would have disrupted the life of several villages but, on further inquiry, it appeared that those at a distance "felt the power would not reach so far." A second cousin, or even a third, living in the same village would "think it safer" to bathe and go saltless but a sister who was far away might take no precautions at all.

431 602 The same considerations applied to the gift giving. At the war purification an elaborate dance was performed by paid dancers, the pay being furnished by the hero's kin. There were no stated obligations." "If his father had nothing to give, an uncle might do it all." Or even a "distant uncle" *if he lived near*. The underlying idea seems to be that this payment was an investment in blessing. The hero, when he became a "ripe man" would enjoy a material success, either as a hunter or as a paid singer and his neighboring kin would naturally share in the proceeds. The one who had given most would be repaid accordingly.

621 602 We have pictured the geographic group, selected by circumstance and economic necessity, as the most important one. But the duties toward this group did not preclude relationships with other kin and these were kept up, often under great difficulties. Ties with the nearest kin, such as parents or children, were not allowed to lapse no matter what the distance and other relatives when they became neighbors, were immediately included in the gift giving circle. (I. 1. D; I. 4. B, I. 6. D. 2; I. 7. B. 2). But there was a general range of duties to be observed toward any class of relatives, geography permitting, and these may be taken up for each class separately.

593 857 [868] SIBLING CLASS. Siblings were brought up in the same one-room house but a sex distinction began very early. Boys followed the men, learning to hunt and to till the ground, girls kept with the women, gathering food, fetching wood and water, grinding corn and making baskets. The fear of the menstruating woman caused a separation between the two groups so that even husband and wife were seldom together during the day. Boys played together and, when they wanted more companionship, sought out their male cousins who generally lived near. Girls formed a group with their female cousins.

543 Between brother and sister as between the remoter "siblings" of opposite sex, there was a mild respect relationship. No brother and sister would stay alone in the house at night or be seen out together. Any sister had a special duty to prepare food for her brother, even

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602 Any sibling of the grandparents was treated much like a grandparent, provided he lived in the home group. Many houses have several dependent old people of this sort addressed briefly as grandparent, without the suffix old man or old woman which indicates a grandparental sibling. In such a case, it is almost impossible to tell by behavior which is the grandparent and which a collateral.

The grandparents in the mother's line normally lived in another village and could be seen only on visits. But these visits might last a long time (I. 1) and also there were many reasons why a mother might return to her own parents. Then these would take the same position as teacher and nurse which was normally occupied by the father's parents (I. 3. C. 5).

Great Grand Parent and Great Great Grandparend Class

603 The more ancient relatives existed only as dependents, cared for in any family which could find room for them. Their unimportance is expressed by the fact that, in their titles, no distinction is made as to sex or line and the remotest, the great great grandparents, are called by the children "younger siblings" in allusion, one informant thought, to their second childhood.

Spouse Class

562 462 Though the man was the head of the family and residence was at his village, there was much emphasis, in daily life, on the equality of the spouses. Each was supreme in a special field of activity and, in many phases of ceremonial life, one could not participate without the other. At home labor, the patriarch directed the men and his wife the women. He disposed of gifts of meat and cultivated crops; she of cooked food and wild crops and the relatives of both shared equally in the distribution, subject to the factor of propinquity.

595 Co-wives were not frequent except with older men who had acquired the goods to support them. They were usually sisters and, in that case, there was no formal precedence of the older. They arranged their work and distributed gifts in committee and the husband accepted their joint decision. Wives who were not related were expected to fit into the sister pattern although the colloquial term "she of whom I am jealous" shows that they did not always do it. But there was no hard and fast rule for precedence of the senior wife. The women of the household were left democratically to settle their troubles between them.

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Though women had few ceremonial duties of their own, the obligations of a husband often reflected on his wife, or wives, automatically, thus emphasizing the unity of the spouses. When a man was ceremonially purified, a wife went through the same ordeal mitigated only slightly because of her sex. At its end, she had the title of "ripe". Her relatives automatically shared her blessing and her danger and, to protect themselves they abstained from salt and bathed every four days. A list of affinals purified with I. 1. A. 1 is as follows: wife, wife's parents, wife's father's brother, wife's siblings in another village, with their spouses and children. The others were far away or "they would have been purified too."

Yet this close relationship depended on the birth of a child to the young couple. After that event, the new spouse was known by affinals as "father of my grandchild", "mother of my elder brother's child", etc. In the absence of a child there was no word available but "that young man" or that "young woman."

Death or divorce did not prevent the use of kinship terms, since these depended on the child, but they often broke up economic relationships and the ceremonial ties which derived from them. On the death of a spouse, the levirate and sororate might come into play and then all relationships remained unchanged. But these rules were by no means inviolable. If a wife died and her sister did not replace her, the children normally remained in the husband's home group, cared for by his parents. If a husband died, the wife returned to her own home group taking, at least, the young children. But if she were old and her sons able to care for her, she might remain where she was.

Gift giving relationships with the affinals depended on whether the widowed spouse was within geographic reach. One family group shows the dead wife's relative as being within the intimate economic circle since they had land there. (I. 5. D. E). No purification is recorded for this family so we cannot tell whether a ceremonial tie was felt also.

There is no record of gifts to geographically distant affinals after a spouse's death but relatives would, if possible, remember the children and visit them occasionally. Such children could come back for help if they failed to get any group of their own. In divorce, conditions were much the same. The woman left the man's house and probably married into a new family group so that the old economic arrangements were necessarily broken up. All her ties, economic and ceremonial, were with the new group.

These instances show that, in Papago kin behavior, sex is always important since men and women work and play in sex limited

4: Joseph et al. D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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626 economic and social obligations. Only when these sanctions fail to bring the nonconformists into line is there recourse to the village chief or tribal court.

Despite this rather strict control by the pressure of family and public opinion, there is considerable freedom of decision in personal matters. The balance between individual rights and family authority seems to be carefully preserved. There is no subservience but rather an attitude of respect and conformity because "that is the right thing to do," and not because the individual is forced into line.

This attitude is carried over to all duly constituted authority. The Papago are very much individuals, yet they respect law and custom and abide by the decisions of those who, in their opinion, are authorized to make them. Where parental or political authority has broken down among the Papago, it is often because an attempt has been made to force upon them new patterns which do not fit in with the old.

RELATIVES

602 596 Generally speaking, the Papago consider as relatives to be addressed by a kinship term all persons within the third degree of relationship. Beyond this degree, a relationship is often acknowledged, but it has little social significance. Those who are within the third degree may be called the extended family, and, in Papago life, it is they who are important.

596 Paradoxically, the extended family is a loosely organized but strongly knit social unit. It is loosely organized in that members move in and out of its primary locale and sometimes settle permanently some distance away. They also move in and out of the sphere of economic co-operation. Moreover, unlike the family household, the extended family does not ordinarily have a head or clearly defined gradations of authority. Probably in the past it was more definitely organized as an extended patriarchal group. Despite the present lack of organization, the extended family is a readily definable group based on very strong ties. Blood relationship between two individuals within the conventionally recognized third degree is of fundamental importance, and economic, ritual, and social aspects of life are all affected by it.

The general pattern of relationships in the extended family is much like that of the immediate household. Indeed, a cousin who lives near by is likely to be more important than a brother who has resided for some time in a distant place. Members of the extended family do much co-operative work. If a man needs help in plowing, building a house, or cutting posts, he usually asks one or more of his relatives to help him, for "relatives can be depended on," and "it is much easier to reach an understanding with them." Sometimes three

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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or four related men will do their plowing, weed-cutting, or harvesting together. A large cattle-owner will pay his relatives in cash, but the usual return is in labor. 596

Associated with the necessity for co-operation is the custom of exchanging gifts among relatives. In the old days gifts—usually of food—were exchanged frequently and regularly between related households. No return was asked, but the recipient was always expected to make a similar gift in the future. It is probable that this device was developed to insure the survival of the group by more equitably distributing the supply of food and other necessities, although it was never mere barter. Together with the custom of assisting relatives, the gift exchange was a form of investment, as Underhill points out.[8] The custom acquired overtones of social significance, and the gift became a symbol of esteem and solidarity among kinfolk. Today if a family has a surplus of anything—as when a steer is butchered or many rabbits are killed—portions are sent to members of the extended family,[9] and sooner or later a return gift is received. No thanks are voiced, except indirectly to other people through praise of the giver's generosity. Although the gift exchange seems to have lost most of its economic character and to have survived only as a social custom, it is still important. If individuals or families who can do so do not give or return gifts, they are looked at askance. 602 431

All members of the extended family have a strong feeling of responsibility toward one another. If an old couple live alone, a child is often sent to live with and help them. If they are in need and their own children are unable or unwilling to take care of them, the relatives feel it is their duty to help. So strong is this feeling that, when the distribution of relief supplies was begun during the depression, the Papago requested that some form of work be required in return, lest the system of family responsibility break down and the solidarity and independence of the people be destroyed. Throughout the lean years, the number of families continually on relief rolls remained very small. 596

Family relationship also carries an obligation to settle disputes amicably. Regarding one suit brought over the division of a field among relatives, the villagers remarked, "And they are closely related! They should be able to settle it among themselves without having to take it to court and say all those mean things." Papago believe that recourse to legal authority should be taken only by those who are not related. The old system is breaking down, and disputes which would have been settled by relatives in the old days are now being brought to court. In the eastern districts of the Reservation the effective sanc- 596 578 691

8. Op. cit., pp. 42, 100.
9. Gift exchange is now being extended to include close friends who are not relatives.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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may hear from grandfather some of the old Papago songs or stories and lectures on the virtues of industry and honesty. The baby soon learns that grandfather has authority over everyone in the household, even the baby's own parents. By the time he is old enough to run errands, he will show to his grandfather the respect and obedience due to the head of the house. 603 854

It should not be assumed from the emphasis on the mother's and grandparents' relationships to the baby that the father is merely a figure in the background. A man shares very little in his offspring's training in the first four years, for he must be away from the house most of the day. When he is at home, the father may watch the baby for short periods if all the women are busy, but if the child needs special attention, the women take over. Away from home, though the small Papago is primarily his mother's charge, the father is perfectly willing to help; in town or at the fiesta, if the mother has other cares at the moment, the baby is not infrequently seen in his father's arms. 593 854

A father shares the pleasure of all the Papago in having children and is free to express it. Tots reciprocate their father's love, and many show great joy when he comes home in the evening to play with them. The baby also early becomes aware of the father as the family protector. The child and his mother rarely leave the village unless the father accompanies them. A mother sometimes quiets her child by warning him of supernatural dangers that may come while the father is away and unable to care for them; the child knows that it is his father who talks to strangers and drives away coyotes that prowl too near the house. At night the little one knows the intimate physical protection of both parents, for he sleeps between them.

Frequently the little child is assigned to the care of a sister or girl cousin of from eight to eighteen. (If there is no girl in this age range, a smaller girl or even a boy acts as a guardian, and boys seem to attach no stigma of effeminacy to the task.) The guardian shortly comes to perform for the baby almost every service that the mother does except nursing, and if she is left in complete charge, as she occasionally is, the girl will direct and correct the baby exactly as his mother would. The relationship between the guardian child and the baby is an intimate one; if the guardian is not much older, she may show impatience with her charge, but the two usually get on well. 857 854

Other members of the household may be adult aunts, uncles, or cousins of various degrees. With the women the baby's relations will not be very close until after he is weaned. These women will tend him when mother or grandmother is otherwise occupied and will indulge or correct him as she does. After the baby walks and joins a play group of his siblings or cousins, the 602 854

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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602 854 women will have more supervision over him, particularly if the mother has another child. The men are friendly with the little child but never intimate.

From the beginning the child is strongly aware that these people are relatives. He is taught to use the proper kinship terms and slowly comes to see the lines of authority in the household.

854 857 The Papago baby's contacts with other children begin early if he is not the first child in the household. Small children are occasionally called on to watch the baby or swing him in his cradle. Otherwise youngsters ignore him, but now and then they evince a lively interest in him for a few minutes. They want to handle him and perhaps even to tease him, evidently out of curiosity to see what the baby will do rather than out of malice. The older boys of the household have almost nothing to do with the baby.

When a child begins to walk, he is likely to be intrusted to a play group of children from three to eight years of age, who will see that he does not wander away or hurt himself. The group will probably be of girls, as boys range too far from the house to watch over the baby.

Because the children in the play group to which the toddler is attached are older, they are in a position to exercise authority over the baby, and, thoroughly aware of this, they may try to dictate to the smaller one. If they can persuade him, it is legitimate for them to do so, but, if the baby does not wish to comply, he has only to raise his voice in protest; an adult will intervene at once to remind the children that the baby must be pleased.

OUTSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD

854 574 Within a few weeks or even days of his birth, a Papago child will see most of the people of his village, the majority of whom are probably related to him. Interhousehold visiting is not typical of the Papago, but in the course of cooperative work, of gift exchange, and of transmitting news families have rather frequent contacts. The child will also come in contact with the medicine man at birth and curing rites and with people from other villages at fiestas.

755 854 The relationship of the child with the medicine men and singers is not unpleasant. The birth ceremony previously described is simple and contains nothing frightening. The child will probably meet the medicine man next when he or some member of the family is ill. The sick child has nothing to fear from the medicine man, for the shaman never hurts a baby. He may rub or pat his body and suck at his flesh; he will surely blow smoke over him; he may sing and wave eagle feathers over him. Always he urges the little one to sleep and rest. If curing singers are called in, they speak kindly to the sick child and tell him they hope their songs will make him well. The songs prob-

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Chapter XI

THE PAPAGO CHILD IN HIS SOCIETY

000

IN THE three chapters immediately preceding we have watched the Papago child grow up and approach the threshold of adulthood. We have seen what he learns and how he learns. It may be worth while at this point to consider briefly the applicability of this knowledge and why the child acquires it as easily and well as he appears to do.

183 593 602

As we have seen, Papago mores governing the distribution of authority, and patterns of behavior among individuals are few and simple: young children should always be indulged; age has precedence over youth; superior status rightfully belongs to males; and, in all important matters, there should be unanimity of decision among those concerned.

These principles are so universally applicable that a Papago always knows how he is expected to behave when with other Papago. At the same time, these principles act as checks on one another and thus protect the individual. The oldest male of the group, who is granted authority on two counts (sex and age), cannot hold absolute control over his group so long as each member must approve his plans before action is taken. An old man is, logically, a leader in this society, but to wield power he must have character and wisdom that command respect. Similarly, any person who attempts to coerce those younger than himself may always be put in place by someone older. Ultimately, then, a Papago governs only to the degree that he has the consent of the governed, and concentration of authority is virtually impossible.

In the large Papago household, consisting of many people of all ages and both sexes, and in which there is always need for concerted action, these principles are in constant practice. A child has unlimited opportunity to learn, both by direct participation and by observation of the behavior of others.

Two facts are noteworthy in their effect on the development of the child's personality. First, the principles apply equally to *all* members of the household. No one relative, not even the mother, is so singled out that he has exclusive

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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rights to the child's affection or obedience. Just as there is no heavy emphasis on any one individual, there is also no individual who must be treated according to a unique set of rules (such as mother-in-law avoidance or the special relationships of nephew and maternal uncle which obtain in some societies). Though a child often feels no special intimacy with any one person in the household, he may cultivate such a relationship with whomever he pleases.

A second noteworthy fact is that the rules for behavior in the household are applicable to relationships with other Papago. It is assumed that a child's personal contacts will be with blood relatives, whether in his own or another village, and for the most part they are. Furthermore, the pattern of mild domination by the elders, tempered by careful consideration of each individual's opinion, persists in the larger affairs of village, district, and tribe. It is true that, in the recent development of district and tribal councils, the need for knowledge of English and of white ways has increased the status of young men and women with schooling. In the household and in local affairs involving only Papago, however, the old pattern still prevails.

The survey of Papago's interpersonal relationships has shown that there is no abrupt break between juvenile and adult life; there is no period of training, the end of which signals absolute maturity or heralds the sudden assumption of full adult responsibilities. There are no separate rules for the conduct of or toward youngsters.

The indulgence granted to young children may appear to contradict the above statements. But this indulgence may be regarded simply as an exaggerated respect for the child-individual's opinion. Because his rational faculties are as yet insufficiently developed and his training in group responsibility is in an embryonic stage at best, he must be humored in order to maintain peace within the family. As soon as, and to the extent that, he is capable of reasoning, the Papago spare no time or effort to work him into his proper position within the group, i.e., one individual with the right to a voice in and, ultimately, the approval of the course of concerted action.

By the time a Papago has reached biological maturity, he has, in general, accepted his role completely. He has achieved a neat balance between self-gratification and group consciousness, whereby he molds his personal desires into forms acceptable to the whole group.

It should be reiterated that no Papago child learns proper behavior by memorizing rules. He is told that a good man is one who is honest and industrious, kind and peaceful, but he eventually gains a reputation for industry only if he heeds the words of his elders—beginning with requests to bring in wood or tend the baby. It is equally certain that he can maintain peace with

WHEN? . . . A Hundred Days

000 To city people in southern Arizona "The Hundred Days" are the first hundred or so in the year when the main industry of the area is in high gear . Then tourists from colder parts of the country flood into the cities to pump enough dollars into the commercial system to last the rest of the year.

461 221 The hundred days of the cotton farmer come earlier, after the first of September. And they are really more than a hundred, extending usually into mid-January. But the cotton picking season is just about one hundred working days long--22 picking days to the month (5½ work days to the week).

Summer heat continues into October, and the picking that began about the first week of September with the opening of the first bolls is hot, sweaty work. More and more bolls open until the first killing frost which usually comes in mid-November turning the plants brown. Then leaves fall off and the last bolls open quickly. After that harvesting is a race against time to pick the lint before rain and sun deteriorate it.

464 221 [361] The Desert People begin their annual migration to the cotton fields months earlier to work at cleaning ditches and weeding and thinning the growing cotton. The harvest hands start moving into labor camps in August, and more continue to move in until the peak of the season in November finds perhaps 4,500 Papagos living in Pima and Pinal county camps.

221 The Desert People are old hands at seasonal migrations. For untold centuries they moved back and forth between their fields in the valleys and springs in the mountains where they went after the harvest and the drying up of valley water holes. The present migration out to the labor camps comes a little earlier than harvest time, and interferes with growing crops on the reserves.

221 602 186 182 "Despite the practical difficulties involved, the findings suggest that the development of this physical, social and

[Text continues on p. 22]

psychological base in cooperative family life, with roots in the traditional homeland to counterbalance the wage work cycle is of vital importance to Papago well-being as a firm pivot around which the individual may build his new adjustment to rapidly changing modern conditions. As such, the new dual orientation may well serve as the focus of administrative planning.[1]

However, an increasing proportion of the Desert People who work on cotton farms no longer make an annual migration from reservation home to labor camp. They have moved from the reserves more or less permanently, consciously recognizing themselves as permanent farm workers. Mostly they are irrigators, but do general farm work, and include tractor drivers and other skilled workmen. They contribute some labor to harvesting cotton, since men pick when regular jobs are slack, and wives and children pick off and on. These people made up over a fifth of the Papagos interviewed in the course of this study,[2] indicating that the number of Papagos living on farms outside the reserves all the time is relatively large, perhaps as many as 800.[3] They occupy an important place in the labor picture and economy of the cotton-growing valleys. Their ability to support themselves by wage labor is very important to the economy of the reserves, removing part of the population overload that cannot be supported adequately by the poor lands of the reserves.

This form of adjustment to a radically changed economy has not progressed to its ultimate, however. In South Africa, where European settlers moved in and confined the natives to similar reserves, about 35% of the native population lives permanently on European owned farms.[4] If 800 Papagos live on southern Arizona farms all the time, only about 10% of the population is living on European owned farms outside the reserves. (Perhaps as many live in southern Arizona cities.)

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[1] Thompson, 1951, p. 71.

[2] 12 of 53 families, or 22.6%.

[3] About 2,000 Papagos picked cotton in 1950, and about 4,500 lived in labor camps. So approximately 200 Papago men may be working as year-round farm laboerers, and their wives add another 200 part-time cotton pickers. Their families are somewhat smaller than those of pickers migrating from the reserves.

[4] Hunter, 1937, p. 389.

464 The movement of the Desert People to permanent
361 homes in labor camps on European owned farms, aban-
166 doning their roots on the tribal lands is a relative-
178 ly new development. While Papagos have worked for
179 Europeans for almost the entire period of contact,
[221] their work has always been brief in duration, a supplemental measure followed by a withdrawal to the homeland. Forsaking overcrowded tribal lands for good seems to have begun only within the last decade, and to have reached significant proportions only in the last 5 years. (Some Papagos have worked for many years as domestics or miners away from the reserves) This late beginning for a class of Papagos severed from their homeland is due to the peaceful nature of contacts between Papagos and Americans and to lack of opportunity for wide-scale farm employment until [722] recent years. The Papago economic base was never [248] destroyed by warfare with the incoming whites as in the case of the Navahos and many other tribes. Over-[161] population on deteriorating reserves did not reach a critical point until about the same time extensive development of irrigated agricultural lands in nearby valleys began, offering a safety valve to those Papagos able to speak acceptable English and perform semi-skilled farm work.

464 This class of Papago farm laborers is very new
166 compared to natives living on South African farms.
171 Most of them have grown up on European farms, without any stake in native reserve areas. Some are descended from natives forced into farm labor by destruction of their cattle in wars nearly a century ago.[1]

The ties native South African farm workers retain with natives living in the reserves naturally depend on the time they have spent on the farms. Some entirely lack relatives or friends on reserves, and have [602] never visited the reserves.[2] A very few Papago year-[592] round farm laborers no longer have relatives on the reservations. But they all still have friends on the [574] trust lands. They all were born on the reserves. They all still visit their old homes, even if only [186] rarely. They are all very conscious that they are Desert People, and are only beginning to view themselves as people apart.

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[1] Hunter, 1937, p. 389.
[2] Ibid., p. 390.

The change in attitude toward the family is indicated by the thought habits of harvest workers as shown by their answers to inquiries as to whether the entire family was in the labor camp. Well over half replied that all their family was in the camp, although further questioning developed that actually relatives counted part of the traditional extended family remained on the reservations. These laborers were thinking in terms of the biological family rather than the traditional extended family group.[1]

Papago harvest hands are not as socially and economically independent of the relatives they leave behind on the reserves as one might think. Strong cultural ties bind them to their relatives. The farm laborers know they will return home for most of the year--the harvest season is only an interlude. Even during picking season, Papago laborers return to the reserves on religious occasions, and meet their relatives who cannot leave the reserves to earn cash. On the other side of the picture, the stay-at-home relatives care for the property and animals of the wage laborers while they work.

Most frequently it is the older generation which has less knowledge of English and Anglo working habits that stays on the reserves. Among workers who recognize that part of their family stayed on the reserves, about 60% left parents.[2] One pattern of behavior for laboring Desert People is to leave school children with their grandparents on the reserves so their schooling will not be interrupted by the move to the cotton farms and back. Perhaps a sixth do so.[3] Another pattern is for siblings to stay home to care for property left on the reserves. Again, about a sixth of the cotton pickers relied on such a relative in 1950.

About one family of 10 is either so large or so poor that all members of the extended family leave the reserves to work, but go to different camps.[4]

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[1] 60% of those asked said the whole family was in camp (21 of 35 families giving information).
[2] Of 19 families giving information, 12 had parents on the reservations--63.2%
[3] Of the 19 families, 3 left children with their grandparents--15.8%.
[4] This was true of 2 of the 19 families giving data, 10.5%.

As it is, the horses kept by each family seem to run just slightly under the number allowed on permits assigned by the Council. Among families picking cotton, the average permit was for 7 horses.[1]

Papago harvest hands can go off and leave unplanted fields without worrying. But the laborer with cattle or horses has a problem. Three-fourths of the pickers with animals in 1950 left them in the care of some relative--a brother, son, father, or uncle.[2] This fact is apparently one main reason for members of the Papago extended family remaining on the reserves while others go off to pick cotton. Along with the pattern of leaving children with their grandparents so they can continue uninterrupted in Indian Bureau schools, it illustrates the continuing economic function of the Papago extended family. Although the biological family is the main unit working for wages, in the wider economic picture it is the extended family which is the functioning unit.

The laborers who do not leave their animals in someone's care simply let them run loose on the reserve or occasionally a family will be able to bring its horses to a labor camp.

On the reserved lands themselves, the labor market is relatively restricted. Employers are limited to the U. S. Indian Bureau (hiring over 100 Desert People)[3] the Papago Tribe (hiring half a dozen Papagos full time) the state and county highway departments, trading posts, and mines. These jobs generally require some degree of skill and training, and are filled by those of the Desert People who have had more educational opportunities. A high proportion of these employees are Presbyterians because of the emphasis Papago converts place upon education, and good quality of denomination schools.

Many cotton harvesters recognize these fundamental reasons for their working. When they expressed their reasons for coming to the fields to labor, they said they came because "We don't have any fields," or "I didn't have a job," (the most frequent reply). Or some recognized the cause, but thought in the old mental paths of the Desert People: "There hasn't been any rain."

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[1] 13 of the families giving data had permits for 91 head.
[2] 9 of 12 families giving information did.
[3] Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949, p. 37.